

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 654

January 7th, 1949

THREE PENCE

"PEACE" IN CHINA

"PEACE" is a queer word. General Chiang Kai-shek has announced in China that he is ready to make peace. What this means in plainer language is that he is ready to give in to the Communists.

The defeat of his forces surprises no one. Already, in the words of the Spectator, they have been an unconscionable long time dying. But to see the Generalissimo in the rôle of us had not expected. We thought he would take himself off, like De Gaulle, to fight in exile.

The explanation of what is happening may perhaps be found in an interesting article the New York Nation found room to publish among its Zionist rhapsodies in the issue dated Dec. 18. It told of a recent visit to Washington by the Generalissimo's

COMMENTARY

by

MAURICE CRANSTON

Christian wife, Madame Chiang, on a personal mission to President Truman on behalf of Nationalist China. From Mr. Truman, it seems, Madame Chiang received what Mr. P. G. Wodehouse would call the bird. Uncle Sam had already decided to cut his losses in China. In future he was going to build up only those anti-communist countries he could trust: Germany, for instance, and Japan. China was unreliable. She had been anti-fascist so long she had acquired a chronic Left-wing bias. Really it wasn't any use Madame Chiang hanging around. Why, even General Franco was a better investment, if America had to deal with doubtful customers.

Re-union against Japan?

No wonder the Generalissimo is ready to talk "peace." There is nothing else he can talk. There is even a possibility that his defeat will lead to a later reunion of Nationalist and Communist interests in China. They have been united before by the menace of Japan. The same circumstance may unite them in the future.

One has only to read the American papers to see that Japan is being rebuilt in a big way under General MacArthur's auspices. The latest news is that the policy of removing power from the old industrial bosses in Japan is to be abandoned. The Japanese war profiteers are to keep their positions, subject, of course, to general supervision from the occupying power. What the Chinese think of these arrangements we are not told. But it is not hard to guess. Within a year or two China may well be united under a Communist government against Japan and America. That sort of "peace" is the most the Chinese can hope for, now that their Civil War is coming to an end.

French and the Ruhr

The French have towards Germany much the same attitude of anxious suspicion that the Chinese have towards Japan. It is an attitude which often seems to foreigners absurd, though good reasons for it may be found in the histories of both these countries. For a long time the French fear that her Allies would build up Germany to become once more a military force in Europe, led France to oppose almost every proposed settlement in Western Germany. At last, however, the French have been persuaded to agree to arrangements for the control of the Ruhr. An

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Indonesia : The Other Holland Speaks

I DO not like to write this article, declares Pastor Strijdom of 's Hertogenbosch, for I love my country and the people to whom I belong. But I think it necessary to make it clear that there are groups in the Netherlands (and not nearly all of them anti-militarist) with a different insight into the problem of Indonesia from that suggested by the official Dutch point of view.

ON Sunday, Dec. 19, 1948, the Dutch forces in Indonesia started the second military action. In my sermons of this Sunday I called Dec. 19 the blackest Sunday of the whole year.

This "war against Indonesian extremists" is a fatal mistake. For what is the root of this Netherlands-Indonesia problem? The answer is: a crisis of confidence that has arisen in the course of history between the two peoples.

The colonial relation, which is based on an absolutely wrong sense of superiority, has given rise to a deep-rooted distrust of the Dutch.

This does not mean that good individual relations between many a Dutchman and Indonesian do not exist. There always have been, and still are, Dutchmen who did not go to Indonesia just to earn money as much, and as soon as possible, but who are really willing to serve. But this fact does not alter the political situation.

Looking back, we have to admit that we never gave sufficient rights to Indonesian nationalism. Until 1942 the colonial relation had never

been abolished. In name: yes; in reality: no.

Soekarno was interned in 1932. The Japanese released him in 1942. Hatta and Sjahrir were taken into custody in 1934 and, after a detention on remand of eleven months, were exiled to the prison camp of Boven-Digoel on New Guinea without any law-suit or trial. In 1939 they were transported to Banda. They too were liberated by the Japanese.

Holland always wanted to be at the helm. Even after the receipt of an urgent petition, in 1940, claiming the right of the Indonesian population to say in the government of their country, the Dutch government answered that it did not want to hold out promises or ideals, nor to define the future political structure of the Dutch Indies.

ALWAYS AT THE HELM

After the second world war, when the nationalists in Java seized the opportunity to proclaim a Republic (which now occupies much of the island), and in the other parts of Indonesia nationalism manifested itself in many ways, large groups of the Dutch people still did not change their mind. We have to be "at the helm," even when, in theory, we grant the right of autonomy to Indonesia.

The means used to realise this purpose have proved in the clearest way our lack of insight into the essence of the matter: that it is necessary to end the crisis of confidence by showing the Indonesians that the Dutch sincerely wish to help them in obtaining their national independence.

In the first years after the war Van Mook and Schermerhorn, leading men in the progressive groups, did their utmost to make Holland willing to do justice to Indonesian nationalism. However, the reactionary powers were too strong. The Christian political parties in Holland were the incarnation of colonialism. The Liberal Party was no more "Christian" in this respect than these Christian parties. The Communists only tried to make political capital out of the trouble with Indonesia. The Roman Catholics followed an equivocal course, so that they could always change their attitude. The Democratic-Socialist (comparable with the Labour Party in England) did not show any radicalism: compromise upon compromise was accepted—until all this led to the first "police-action" in July, 1947.

CHURCH IS SILENT

Only a few people in Holland saw that such a military action could never solve a crisis of confidence. Even the churches kept silent, alas! Only a few preachers, the Dutch section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation "Kerk en Vrede" (Church and Peace), and some progressive weeklies, spoke the word which should have been spoken by the whole Dutch Church.

Everybody who reads the history of the failing negotiations since July, 1947, gets an unavoidable impression of guilt and tragedy. Opportunity on opportunity was lost.

NORWAY CANCELS DUTCH CHRISTMAS RADIO LINK-UP

From Our Own Correspondent OSLO.

A FEW days before Christmas there appeared in the Norwegian Press a letter from a well-known journalist and author drawing attention to a Norwegian Christmas Day broadcast, an international programme, relayed from Hilversum, with the title in Norway of "Sju land synger om julen" ("Seven countries sing about Christmas"). As well as Holland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Britain contributed to the programme. The letter pointed out that the broadcast from Holland, which had the general title of "Peace on Earth," was singularly inappropriate and asked that Norwegian listeners might be spared the choice of listening to it or having to turn off their radios for that hour.

On Christmas Day the Norwegian radio announced that the programme would not be relayed and that "December in Verse"—a poetry reading would be substituted. This was reported in the Press of Monday, Dec. 27, but in only one paper, Verdens Gang, was the further information given that the Norwegian choir taking part in the programme participated and that other countries heard it without knowing that it was cancelled in the Norwegian Radio.

Satisfaction that the Norwegian Radio took notice of public disgust at Dutch action in Indonesia is lessened by the fact that the Norwegian participation was not cancelled and that the incident has not been made known in other countries.

FOOTNOTES:

1. "Peace on Earth," in which the BBC Singers participated was recorded and broadcast on the Light Programme on Christmas Sunday at 8.15 am.
2. Stuart Morris, on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union had earlier sent a request to the BBC asking that Russia be included in the list of countries to whom goodwill messages would be sent during the BBC's own Christmas Day broadcast. A reply, tantamount to a refusal, was received.
3. In reply to another letter from Stuart Morris, the Archbishop of Canterbury's chaplain sent an assurance that a message of goodwill would be sent to the Patriarch of Moscow.

The Dutch always ended by making reservations, even when they seemed most willing to meet the Republic halfway in granting its real autonomy. Frequently they "gave" rights to the Republic which had already been definitely taken. Thus the extremists got the upper hand, the chaos in the Republic expressed itself in murder and arson.

In Holland the great majority of the people don't see how utterly impossible it is to restore order without solving this fundamental crisis of confidence.

However, in September, 1948, the Hervormde Kerk (the biggest Protestant Church in Holland) sent out a very courageous letter to the Council of Ministers, declaring "that any solution of the problems by armed force would inevitably be the source of much trouble in future. . . . To the church as well as to the missionaries in Indonesia, such an armed solution of the present difficulties would mean, humanly speaking, an insurmountable and catastrophic estrangement of the Indonesian population."

We sincerely hope that this rather pessimistic prediction will not come true. But we fear that Holland has already lost in Indonesia, which means that Holland has already lost in Asia. We have missed the opportunities of three years.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

Available from Newsagents and Bookstalls,
or direct from the above address.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Gt. Britain	Abroad.
Three months	4s. 4d.	3s. 10d.
Six months	8s. 8d.	7s. 7d.
Twelve months	16s. 6d.	14s. 4d.

SI VIS PACEM...

WHAT have we pacifists to say to those who argue, in Dr. J. H. Oldham's words, that "Just in proportion as we perceive modern war to be the denial of every human value, it must be our overmastering desire, not primarily that our own hands may remain clean, but that this awful event in the life of mankind should not happen"; and that, since military weakness is "more likely to provoke than to avoid war," the Christian must support rearmament?

We may point out, of course, that the tag, "if you want peace, prepare for war," is so old that it is commonly recited in a dead language, and still the hundreds of years of its ascendancy have never been free from wars. But that, alas, does not prove the converse to be true, "If you want peace, do not prepare for war."

We may point out that if a ruler really believes, like Hitler, that *Niedergang* (annihilation) is the next best thing to *Weltmacht* (world power), no phalanx on earth will restrain him; whereas if, like Stalin, he prefers to extend his rule by other means if possible, rearmament may actually assist him. But the pacifist, who has pledged himself *never* to participate in war, can justify his stand only by an argument that would be compelling in any situation: and a situation is conceivable in which force would indefinitely postpone an aggressor.

What, then, is the nature of this argument? We may, perhaps, put it this way. Just as the Christian who becomes a pacifist simply in order to prevent war, is practically bound to become a militarist as soon as war is declared—because he has no further reason for remaining a pacifist: so the Christian who becomes a militarist simply to prevent war, is logically bound to become a pacifist as soon as war is declared—because he has no further reason for remaining a militarist. Unless, that is, he falls for some Atlantic Charter, foisted by exalted liars upon a world only too desperate for assurance that its sufferings are not in vain. But we are speaking here of the man who genuinely takes up arms for the sole purpose of preventing "large-scale senseless destruction."

Such a man, we contend, is, for all his plausible logic, involved in a *reductio ad absurdum*. Either his militarism is bluff, in which case it cannot be effectual; or else it commits him to a course of action which, upon his own premises, will be utterly without justification: since, once a war has begun, he cannot even plead that the end justifies the means—his end, the prevention of war, having already vanished into limbo.

From this *reductio ad absurdum*, pacifism is the only deliverance. For the pacifist, who does not believe war to be the worst possible evil, whose aim is not the prevention of war but the preservation of compassion, is at least barred from a course of action intrinsically aimless and hopeless. Whatever his weakness, he knows that "there is nothing from without a man; that entering into him can defile him"—not even a bullet or a bayonet—"but the things which come out of him, those are they that defile a man"; and as long as one soul survives who will refrain, not indeed from soiling his own hands, but from soiling that which is not his own at all, but has been entrusted to him for keeping, his cause is still humanly alive.

It is surely misleading to speak, as Dr. Oldham speaks, of the Christian non-pacifist as witness to "the reality of responsibility," in contradistinction to the pacifist as witness to "compassion." To safeguard compassion is our prime responsibility, not only as Christians but as citizens. It is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen"—the only promise there is of world, or even national, community.

All is grist....

MR. BRUCE ODSBUR once provoked some annoyance by pointing out, in Peace News, that the particular objections which Pandit Nehru had raised against the Dutch "police-action" in Indonesia, applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to his own "police-action" in Hyderabad. Several correspondents protested that the Dutch were an "enslaving," the Indians a "liberating" force: which may, of course, have been true: but it did not alter the fact, that Nehru was invoking one set of principles to justify his own international conduct, and another to condemn the Dutch.

I was reminded of this last week, when The New Statesman, which on Sept. 25 announced, "The speed with which the Indian Government's operations in Hyderabad have been concluded is in itself a justification of the action taken," quite failed to assure its readers that Java belonged rightfully to Holland, because it had only taken eleven days to reconquer.

At bottom, I think, quite a lot of our intellectuals really believe that might is right, provided it belongs to the Left.

THE same New Statesman carries some interesting comments on the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty. The Hungarian Government, we read, "seem to have been ready for a concordat of sorts if the Cardinal would agree to priests teaching within secular schools, but no such compromise was possible for Mindszenty"—and so, we are led to infer, without any examination of the concordat, no Government, however tolerant or accommodating, could be expected to put up with such a turbulent priest.

Yet the "Critic" responsible for these innuendos had nothing to say in favour of Mgr. Stepinac, when he was arrested by the Yugoslav Communists, although Stepinac, according to all reliable accounts, had out-vicared the Vicar of Bray in his eagerness to come to terms with any and every *de facto* Government of Yugoslavia, and was, in fact, convicted of collaboration with the Nazis. A Roman Catholic, it appears, is equally blameworthy, whether he is "uncompromising" or "opportunistic."

I personally have no brief for either Mindszenty or Stepinac. It is quite obvious that the truth or untruth of the charges raked up by the Hungarian Government is impossible for an outsider to assess, for the simple reason that this Government, being Communist, is committed to any lie or brutality that helps it to gain its end. As Molotov said in Paris on Nov. 24,

The Clergy and war

THE average men and women of this war-ridden generation are more than half sick of the hair-splitting, the evasions and mental reservations which the clergy of the organised churches present us with. . . . If Anglican clergy who are pacifists have from the first distinguished between "solemn" and "general" assent to doctrinal statements to which they append their signatures, they are involved from the very outset of their career in the ambiguity which, to so many ordinary folk, is the "stone" that the churches proffer for the Bread of the Spirit we demand. No one wishes to make charges of insincerity: but it must never be forgotten that it was the cowardice and half-heartedness of professional religionists which led to the sacrifice of the world's greatest pacifist, Jesus of Nazareth.

MORRIS GLOVER.

Friends House
Euston Rd., N.W.1.

Keeping out heretics

I CAN assure Mr. Radford that I did not abandon my hope of being ordained without somewhat more than the "few minutes research" that he recommends. The relevant parts of the document required to be read and signed by every candidate before ordination are:

"I, . . . , do hereby solemnly make the following declaration. I assent to the doctrine of the Church of England, as it is set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles, as agreeable to

"Law is merely the tool of policy." But just because I believe this conception to be damnable, because I believe that absolute standards of right and wrong do exist, which it is a Government's duty to respect, I wish that The New Statesman would either come out openly on the Communist side, or else define once and for all what principles it intends to uphold.

I HAVE never been quite sure—have you?—what is meant by a "stool-pigeon." Mays has kindly put us wise:



"I SOMETIMES feel," said the Mayor of a London Borough, in an after-dinner speech the other day, "as though I were a kind of slot-machine. You put the food in at one end, and the speech comes out at the other." It was somewhat hard not to agree, when he went on to inform an audience of African and Indian students that colour-prejudice was a thing unknown in England; and that, although we might be a little demoralised at present, we should soon return to "those standards of justice and honesty which the world has come to expect of our race!"

I wonder what the Mayor would have said, had he shared the experience of an English friend of mine, who, looking for lodgings in North London last summer, was told by a possible landlady that while she herself of course had no objection, "the people

the Word of God."

If Mr. Radford wishes to call this a "general assent," he is quite welcome to the phrase. The fact remains that the doctrine of the Church of England, as set forth in the Articles, is that war is lawful for Christian men, and that even the

LETTERS

most "general" assent to this proposition is excluded for the pacifist who believes that war is wrong.

In anticipation of the objection that this "lawful" has a purely legal and no theological significance, may I point out that the Article reads, "lawful for Christian men," not "lawful for subjects of the Crown"; and the Articles are, after all, Articles of Religion, not Articles of Common Law. Further, let it not be forgotten that this Article, like the others that deal with ethical questions, was included with the express intention of excluding from the Ministry particular "heretical" groups—in this case the Anabaptists, i.e. pacifists.

D. A. LANE.

117 Baddow Rd.,
Chelmsford, Essex.

Crime in Tokio

CAN anyone explain why England helped to perpetrate the Tokio Trial? I have spoken to English Christians, who hated the business because it was sinfully vindictive, to

THE GAP

THE General report about the economic and industrial state of the country could be applied in many ways to the PPU! These signs of recovery are encouraging and we are relying on every member and each group to make 1949 a record year. But we too must bridge the gap between our "exports" and "imports." We have finished 1948 with a deficit but we must not curtail what we are putting out in the way of educational propaganda and activities. We have budgeted to receive in 1949 an average of £12 10s. from each of the fortnightly appeals for Headquarters Fund in Peace News. Please help us in this way to "bridge the gap."

MAUD ROWNTREE,
Hon. Treasurer.

Contributions since Dec. 22: £14 17s. 6d.
Total for 1948: £245 16s. 8d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund" to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endeavour St., W.C.1

on the floor below would not like a coloured person in the house." My friend had just returned from a sun-bathing holiday.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE will look forsaken, now that Twelfth Night has come and gone. The Norwegian Christmas tree was, I thought, even more beautiful this year than last, with the coloured fountains leaping on either side; and I am not surprised that there were tears one night when the lights abruptly failed.

One good thing, at any rate, has come out of the War. But the tree seems to stand for more than a newfound friendliness between the peoples of Britain and Norway, precious though that is. It symbolises all the simple things which children everywhere enjoy, and the Child himself, to whom national frontiers are unknown. Nothing more was lacking when, on the Tuesday before Christmas, the proverbially dumb London bystander joined with foreign students from the Friends' International Centre and the choir of Kingsway Hall, in an outburst of carol-singing conducted, from the massive plinth of Nelson's Column, by the Rev. Donald Soper.

IT is pleasant to report, in 1949, that the Age of Innocence still blooms in Hampstead. The scene is an office. A small boy scout approaches the forbidden counter, with a becoming diffidence. "Am I allowed here?" he murmurs, hanging his cubbish head. Reassured, he proceeds with his order for New Year cheer. "Please," he lisps—"I wanted some lemonade powder."

The Miller

English lawyers, who loathed the confusion between "post rem" and "propter rem," to very ordinary Englishmen who declared that it was just a cad's trick. So why did it happen? And why are our distinguished war-criminals not sent over to Japan, to be tried by a Japanese court?

TERENCE GREENIDGE

58 Denbigh Street,
London, S.W.1.

The Byrd Mass

LET me thank the writer of the letter printed in PN on Christmas Eve. He speaks, I am sure, from a personal experience of singing in choirs and of conducting them. Let me also assure him that I had no thought of suggesting that in concert performances by large choirs liturgical music should normally be sung unconducted.

Byrd, I suppose, wrote the Mass for more or less clandestine use in private chapels with small choirs; the different voices guided perhaps by an occasional discreet wag of a finger from one of the singers or from a choirmaster singing among them. I realise how widely such conditions differ from those of the performance under review. Only in its abnormal circumstances, with a Michael Tippett unwell and with a rather unusual amount of friendly relationship existing between singers and listeners, might the venture have been one worth considering.

DICK HOLMES.

Ways to WORLD GOVERNMENT

THE claims of Federalists are often too high-pitched. Federation has not always prevented wars between States in the past; and wars have often been prevented by other means than Federation. Nevertheless, I have no dispute with those who choose to re-christen Peace "World Government"—providing they realise that, by so doing, they do not make it any easier to attain. It is no simpler a business to sprinkle W.G. salt on the dove's tail than to cage the dove itself. The obstacles to World Government are the same as the obstacles to Peace; and the exertions of peace-makers are profitable only to the extent that they are directed towards circumventing these.

Very welcome, therefore, are the two latest publications of the National Peace Council, "Food—the Foundation of World Unity," by Sir John Boyd Orr, and "Atomic War—the Way Out," by Lewis Mumford (price 6d. each): for both are concerned, not with extolling the virtues, or drawing up blue-prints of the Supernational State, but with discussing how it may be realised.

IN DEFENCE OF FAO

"Food—the Foundation of World Unity" is Sir John Boyd Orr's address to the Royal Society of Arts last July, with which is printed Mr. L. L. Whyte's reply. It is, in substance, a defence of UNO's specialised agencies, and in particular the Food and Agricultural Organisation. Through co-operation on these, Sir John believes, the Powers may gradually be drawn together, until UNO itself evolves into an effective World Government. He calls on Britain to give the lead.

Unfortunately, he does not tell us what form such a lead should take. Were both America and Russia, for example, members along with Britain of FAO, then we might imagine the British representatives smoothing the path to agreement. But Russia is not a member. She is afraid, as Sir John says, "that FAO would be an instrument of American imperial domination." It would seem, therefore, that the specialised agencies can only draw the Powers together when the Powers have been drawn together on the specialised agencies. If, as he himself states, their working has hitherto been retarded "because the world is torn in two, by two conflicting ideologies," we can only conclude that, so far from being able to heal the breach, they themselves depend on the breach being healed.

ENTER MUMFORD

It is at this point that Mr. Lewis Mumford comes in: for in "Atomic War—the Way Out," Mr. Mumford has set forth a series of proposals, "as a basis for immediate discussion and quick action," which, he believes, would reconcile Russia to the idea of a Supernational State. These proposals deserve serious scrutiny.

The first is that America should call for an armistice in the Cold War. What that means in practical terms is not very clear—a relaxation of the Berlin blockade? A hold-up in American re-armament? However, its main purpose is explained. It is to give the scientists of all countries a chance to estimate objectively the deadliness of mass-destruction weapons. America, Mr. Mumford contends, should make public the terrible evidence which has led Generals MacArthur and Arnold to declare, "There will be no victor in the Third World War."

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

By F. A. LEA

"We rely on that evidence," he writes, "once it is fully exposed, to affect a change of heart and mind in every government and in every people." The Russians themselves, when they have studied it, will be unable to resist the conclusion that our only hope lies in World Government.

To this, we are bound to reply that the Russians have recognised the need for World Government for at least thirty years. The Kremlin actually possesses its own organisation for achieving it, if necessary by the forcible liquidation of those monopoly-capitalists who, according to Communist theory, are the principal obstacle in the way. Why should a sudden intensification of that fear, which they have been exploiting so effectively ever since the War, do other than confirm them in their pre-emptive policy?

QUALIFIED RELIANCE

But Mr. Mumford seems to have anticipated this argument: for, despite his "reliance" on the fear of mass-destruction to "affect a change of heart and mind in every government," we find him, a few paragraphs later, admitting that the decisive re-orientation of Russian policy for which he looks may involve "a change in Russian leadership."

Moreover, his reliance is qualified by two further proposals designed, it would seem, to convince the Kremlin of American disinterestedness (i.e., to convert the Russians from Marx-Leninism).

"To prove our good faith in taking the lead for World Government, a good faith that the Russians may well continue to doubt, we should meet them more than half way. Secure in the existence of our present military machine, temporarily enlarged, we hope, to meet every demand of classic warfare, the next

gesture, however generous, would involve no direct military risk that would not be easily reparable. Even before the United Nations is transformed into World Government, before adequate inspection measures can be devised and put into operation, we should cease manufacturing atom bombs and other instruments of extermination."

That is Mr. Mumford's third proposal, and it invites an obvious query. Why should a measure involving "no direct military risk," but rather the very reverse—for he himself has argued in the first part of his pamphlet that "classic warfare" is more effective than genocide—be considered a proof of good faith? Why, in heaven's name, should anybody regard it as "generous"?

EXTEND BARUCH PLAN

Finally,

"In advance of a plan for rationing energies and primary resources, we should extend the Bernard Baruch proposals for a World Control of Atomic Energy to other essential resources: petroleum, say."

"If American statesmanship makes World Government its prime objective, we must realise that both the Baruch Plan and the Marshall Plan, like Lend-Lease before them, cannot be considered as purely temporary expedients, designed to bolster a disintegrating world economy. Quite the contrary, they must be known as the cornerstones of a post-imperialist economy, designed to transform a world based on one-sided exploitation of the weak by the strong, with each economic group, each national State, intent on private advantage, into a co-operative commonwealth of the nations, spending prudently on peace what they have hitherto spent so recklessly on war. . . . What we must now propose—and the peoples of Europe and Asia would understand the symbol—is a TVA for the world."

Would they, indeed, so understand it? The constructions put on the Baruch and Marshall Plans themselves by Soviet propagandists hardly support such a theory. Mr. Mumford is proposing to dispel that fear of American imperial domination which has led Russia to oppose the Baruch Plan, the Marshall Plan, and FAO itself, by inviting her to submit to a World Authority which combines all the feature of all three

New Year's Resolutions

- LEARN to like what doesn't cost much.
- LEARN to like reading, conversation, music.
- LEARN to like plain food, plain service, plain cooking.
- LEARN to like fields, trees, woods, brooks, hiking, rowing, climbing hills.
- LEARN to like people, even though some of them may be as different from you as Chinese.
- LEARN to like to work and to enjoy the satisfaction of doing your job as well as can be done.
- LEARN to like the songs of birds, the companionship of dogs.
- LEARN to like gardening, pottering around the house, and fixing things.
- LEARN to like the sunrise and sunset, the beating of rain on the roof and the windows, and the gentle fall of snow on a winter day.
- LEARN to keep your wants simple, and refuse to be controlled by the likes and dislikes of others.

—R. E. Moller, Men's Work Bulletin (USA).

Plans to which she takes most objection, including a permanent "capitalist" majority on the Directorate.

SHATTERED ICICLE

"At a single stroke," he exclaims happily, "we should transform the Kremlin's powerful ideological sword into a shattered icicle." At a single stroke, Mr. Mumford reveals that he has no more idea what that ideology is than a child born deaf and blind.

It is no new thing for a writer who has insisted, as often as Mr. Mumford, that a moral advance is imperative if man is to control his material achievements, to proclaim as the path of salvation a policy which demands no moral advance whatever. But it is certainly rare to find one who spills his beans quite as noisily as this.

If this is the best sort of plan the World Government experts can produce, for circumventing the obstacles in the way of their ideal, I for one shall remain firmly convinced that our own is more realistic: unilateral disarmament by the Western Powers, accompanied by a determination to liberalise, or spiritualise, that World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which would probably be the immediate outcome.

"If politics means anything today," Mr. Mumford concludes, "it must become 'the art of the impossible.'" With that, at least, I agree.

THE CHURCH IN DIFFICULTIES

UNDER the title "The Church and the Atom Bomb," The Listener of Oct. 14, published a talk by the Rev. G. B. Bentley on the Church Commission's recent Report. For pacifists—if not too disheartened—it makes interesting reading. It is a lesson on how people can avoid looking at the truth which stares them in the face. Not less is it an example of fairness in stating a case.

The Rev. Bentley is at pains to put forward objections which pacifists are likely to make. War is frankly admitted to be evidence of man's disobedience to the law of his own nature given to him by God. The early Christians are allowed to have refused to fight partly because of "the antipathy felt between Christianity and bloodshed." Once they were admitted, however, to positions of authority in the State—as they were under Constantine—Christians had to face the problem of meeting foreign invasion and maintaining internal order.

Here arose the conception of the "just war" which St. Augustine was apparently responsible for embodying in the Church's doctrine. War was to be confined to narrow limits and discrimination practised between the innocent and the guilty among an enemy nation. A sovereign ruler was not to go to war unless there was no temporal superior to whom he could appeal; and all other means of settling the dispute must have been exhausted. And then if he did wage war he was not to destroy or enslave the enemy but only compel him to do justice in the matter in hand. India's

war on Hyderabad seems to be an example in our own day of such a "just war."

Again the Rev. Bentley—and presumably the Commission—is fair in admitting that modern warfare with its mobilisation of whole peoples, is very difficult to restrict in the old way. He even admits that if Clausewitz's contention is true "that war in its essence is the perfectly unbridled element of hostility," pacifism is a natural corollary!

What view then do the Commission hold in contrast? Clausewitz is wrong. War is not in its essence unrestricted.

"Killing and destruction are not ends in view: on the contrary they must be confined within the limits of what the enemy's resistance makes unavoidable. . . . War is to be waged not against the people as such, but against their capacity to resist just demands. . . . it is the duty of a belligerent to discriminate."

That the Commission actually does decide there are limits must be marked in its favour, but what loopholes such principles give once hostilities have broken out we know only too well. The use of the latest invention of frightfulness is always "unavoidable." And of course our demands are "just" and those who do not yield to them must take all they get. The difficulty of discrimination is admitted to be almost insoluble.

The attempt by the Rev. Bentley to justify this gentlemanly code must be read to be believed. It would hardly seem possible that a serious body of men could advance such

flimsy arguments. Aircraft and long-range artillery—not to mention rocket-missiles and atom bombs—make the task of discrimination "exceedingly delicate," we are told. An international panel of jurists who will decide beforehand what is a legitimate military objective is offered as a practical suggestion. And bravely posing the question whether Russia or the West are likely to subscribe to "just war" principles in the war which seems imminent, the author of course decides that "it is at best doubtful whether Russia" will, and he is not encouraged by the record of the West. Should we then give up armed resistance altogether and so be more realistic (be it noted) he asks? Not a bit of it. "We do not enjoy fore-knowledge." In spite of all "it would surely be presumptuous to assume that men will disregard natural law. . . . Probability after all is not certainty."

But man, proud man!
Dress'd in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence—like an angry ape
Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
As make the angels weep. . . .

Pacifists may take heart. Compared with the shifting sands of the Church's case our own foundations are on a rock. Calmness and resolution are all we need. Only right means can bring right ends. As our opponents case becomes weaker may ours become stronger.

H. W. RAWLINGS

What would you do if....

A hostile army entered your town... you were unarmed... owned petrol, lorries foodstuffs

THE C.O.s OF CHUNGMOU

Americans, British, New Zealanders faced this problem in China's civil war

THE Friends Service Unit in China is the only private welfare agency in that country working in the great plain of the Yellow River, across which the opposing armies of the civil war move. There, in the devastated village of Chungmou in Honan Province and in the surrounding area, some score of Friends' workers are carrying on a medical programme, managing village industries, and providing other community services—an almost unique testimony to the fact that someone cares about the fate of the millions of farmers caught in no-man's land.

The Unit has received written permission from government authorities on both sides to work in this area—an admission that war sometimes gives way to humanity. The Unit programme is significant simply by virtue of providing the governmental leaders a chance to make such an exception and such an admission. Those of us who have worked in civil war areas are grateful to these men for opening the door to Quaker service.

It seems important that some group, however small, should demonstrate to the people of China that Americans and other westerners can and do come to China to help and not to do traffic in arms.

The centre of Unit medical activity is the "Kung I I Yuan" (Friends Hospital) at Chungmou, built by the Unit at the very time that other hospitals were shutting down under the threat of civil war. UNRRA, and its Chinese counterpart, CNRRA, generously contributed funds and supplies to the erection of the 25-bed hospital, and a local landlord interested in the Unit's programme contributed the land. A Chinese Unit member with training in architecture designed the two-story brick and quonset-hut structure, and the Unit kilns nearby provided bricks.

Even before the hospital was complete, it met its first major crisis, a serious rail-road accident at Chungmou station. During the night, patients arrived at the hospital, carried on doors taken off their hinges to serve as stretchers. The clock around, the Unit's one doctor at Chungmou stayed up operating, while the injured lay on improvised cots in the corridors.

BATTLE OF KAIFENG

The hospital was better able to cope with a second crisis last June, the battle of Kaifeng, some 20 miles away. During and after the engagement, thousands of civilians and soldiers, many of them wounded, fled westward from Kaifeng. Their route took them through Chungmou, and once again the hospital's facilities were taxed. Civilians and Nationalist and Communist soldiers received treatment side by side. In more normal times, the hospital has a handful of in-patients, and from 60 to 300 out-patients a day. Patients pay what they are able, and it is not unusual for the hospital business manager to receive a few pounds of wheat, a dozen eggs, or a live chicken from some grateful farmer.

Another medical team is operating north of Chungmou, and additional teams are being planned for in other parts of the disputed area. At the same time, the Unit has undertaken various non-medical programmes at Chungmou. When the first Unit team arrived in the town two and a half years ago, only 20 of the original 2,000 houses were still standing. The others had succumbed to years of war-time bombardment, or had been swept away in the disastrous Yellow River floods. The river was brought under control early in 1947, and the town has gradually revived, despite the civil war. The revival has been achieved by the hard work of the returning residents, with some help from the Unit.

A textile industry, two brick kilns, a foundry, a machine shop, all estab-

lished and managed by the Unit, have furnished employment and have provided needed goods. About 200 boys and girls are receiving primary education in a Unit school, the only one in this poor community. With mechanised equipment, the Unit has dug wells for the townspeople. A vegetable oil press has been installed. In

came to Chungmou, they had not known of the Unit's presence, and the soldiers were taken aback and suspicious on finding westerners, lorries, generators, grain-storage bins and other evidences of a welfare programme. They were even more suspicious of the Unit's Chinese members. Was it credible that these fellow-countrymen, connected with a foreign organisation, should stay around merely because they wanted to work at an important job without pay? Perhaps they were spies. The Chinese staff was thus subjected to a thorough but polite grilling (repeated by the Nationalist authorities on their return), while the Unit project leader, in the dead of night, was seeking an interview with the Communist general, some miles away. The purpose of the Unit was established, and in subsequent changes of hands, no trouble has been experienced.

BACK TO CHRISTIAN BEGINNINGS

From the American magazine Time, Nov. 15, 1948.

Is there any future for Christian missions in China? Yes—but not for the institutionalised missions of the recent past. To make any headway in a China overrun by Communism, missionaries will have to go back to Christian beginnings. So says Journalist Robert Root of the Des Moines Register & Tribune, just back from a tour of the Orient.

Reporter Root outlined his views in sombre detail in the Christian Century. Though he wrote even before the fall of Mukden, Root did not find it hard to believe the Communist boast of complete control of China within three or four years. If that should happen, what would be the prospects for Christianity?

Journalist Root thinks there will still be room for a new (or a very old)

kind of mission and missionary. There will no longer be "elaborately housed institutions." "The primitive 'rough it' work of the 1st Century disciples comes to mind. The Friends Ambulance Unit, though it has no evangelisation work, is active in Communist China and suggests a pattern. It would be a labour of tents and poor food and maybe overalls..."

"But for the devoted there would be compensations. Talk about 'building bridges of understanding'! The Iron Curtain cuts off Russia and central Europe, but it has not yet been demonstrated that there is an Oriental Iron Curtain. Perhaps China is the one place on the globe where an imaginative church, with great experience of the land, could be a leaven able to penetrate the brittle hardtack of Communism."

It is hard to imagine the complete isolation of the hundred million or more people cut off by the civil war. The iron curtain in China is doubly

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Three Voices or One? Alex. Wood. For. 1d.

Dr. Wood's recent broadcast on the Church and the Atom introduces the case for Christian pacifism in a spirit both Christian and pacifist. His clarity and tolerance cannot fail to evoke a fresh and sympathetic consideration of the pacifist position from any Churchman who reads it. Let us hope it will have a wide circulation, now that it has been reprinted so attractively and cheaply by the For.

The Facts Behind the Berlin Crisis. F. Kuhn. Washington Post. 10c.

This short history of Russo-American disagreements over Berlin, from VE Day to Oct. 8, 1948, will

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Jan. 6, 1939.

The list of libraries showing Peace News now includes the Press Gallery Library, in the House of Commons. This is a private library confined to journalists.

After being held in prison nearly three months for his energetic peace propaganda in and around Paris last September, Sait Mohamed, French-Arabian pacifist, was tried just before Christmas and sentenced to eighteen months. ... Early in life he renounced all worldly goods and inheritance from his family, and was disinherited by his father for becoming a pacifist. He has often suffered imprisonment for his convictions. He is now forty years old.

thick; it is of Nationalist and Communist making. The people on the Communist side are subject to a constant barrage of anti-American and anti-foreign propaganda. And nothing is present to give the lie to what they are told. They see American-made planes overhead dropping bombs on their villages, and they find American weapons in the hands of their Nationalist countrymen.

From our observation, most of the weapons the Communists in the Honan area use are also American-made, having been captured from the Nationalists, but none of this makes the Communists feel any more friendly towards America. I well remember being lectured by a Communist official about American policy in China the minute I had been introduced to him. "But," he added, "we welcome Americans here who come to help us." The same attitude is shared by most of the articulate people in Nationalist China.

The vast majority of Chinese on both sides want the war to end more than anything else, but resent foreign interference. They are pathetically eager to find evidence of friendship from overseas, and small as the Quaker effort is in China, I believe its message of goodwill is not lost.

UNIT'S "WAR SUPPLIES"

An instance of the power of goodwill was provided by the Chungmou project, where the Unit maintains a supply of petrol and a small fleet of vehicles. These are war supplies, and almost worth their weight in gold. In the period when Chungmou became the centre of military operations and changed hands, both armies at different times asked to borrow the vehicles. The Unit refused politely but firmly. Either army could have taken these lorries and anything else they wanted. They had guns and they meant business. But they did not take the vehicles. In fact, although Chungmou has changed hands four times, the Unit still has its vehicles and its petrol intact.

SPENCER COXE

WORLD NEWS IN BRIEF

ATEN-DAY international camp is being organised at Vuokatti, in the centre of Finland, from Mar. 7. The Swedish pacifist youth society, Ungdomens Fredsförbund (Postbox 811, Stockholm 1), is helping with the arrangements. Skiing and skating will certainly be included in the entertainments, as Vuokatti is in the heart of some of the finest winter sports country in Finland.

It has often been charged, and as frequently denied, that Czechoslovakia has shipped arms to Israel. The charge is now confirmed, for Worldover Press reports that on Nov. 11, at a meeting of the Czechoslovak-Israeli Friendship Society in Prague, Father Plojhar, Minister of Health, declared: "We are delivering arms to Israel because we

understand the fight of the Jewish people and because they have joined the front of the progressive forces of the world."

Young pacifists are urged to get in touch with Allnordiska Kamrateringen, Box 721, Stockholm 1. This is a Scandinavian association which promotes correspondence between anti-militarists in many different countries.

A thousand refugees are to be admitted and cared for by New Zealand, with the specific proviso that they shall be orphans, widows, or aged people of no economic use to the country.—W.P.

A Belgian-Italian Friendship Association has offered two prizes of

5,000 francs each, for the best newspaper report and the best unpublished manuscript, respectively, on impressions gained during a recent trip to Italy.

Over 500 people were present at the first public meeting organised by the Swedish Action Group for World Federation. The meeting was addressed by prominent educationists and scientists as well as a Swedish member of Parliament, Gustav Fahlander. A leading theologian, Dr. Nathaniel Beskow, appealed for the development of the concept of world federation into something like a religion.

A Tagore lectureship for the study of Indian literature is to be established at Cambridge University this year.

MUSIC & DRAMA

A Time for Children

IT is a moot point whether, at this time of the year, we indulge the children, or indulge ourselves on the pretence of considering the children. Perhaps it comes to much the same thing. During these few weeks the theatre attempts to cater for the children (as if children shouldn't go at any other time of the year) and a look round might bring some interesting conclusions.

Pantomime has practically forgotten the children, apart from the dancing and spectacle, and is mainly an excuse for smutty jokes for the grown-ups. Whether that applies this year at the Palladium or the Casino I do not know, but I advise those seeking a pantomime to make for the Princes, for this year's repeat of the 1948 *Babes in the Wood*, a magical show that really is designed for children. There has never been a better panto. Another very good thing is *The Land of the Christmas Stocking*, a real children's play, every moment of it intended for them, and a 100 per cent. certainty for all youngsters. Colourful, musical and altogether delightful, it yet manages to suggest to children that to be good is rather better than to be naughty!

Add to these two *Where the Rainbow Ends*, which, though not to my own taste (nor, by the way, offering any appeal to my own children) is very much a children's play, and we see that at this supposedly children's time, the London theatre can offer only three items which I, at any rate, could unreservedly put down as children's shows.

You can add things which, although not specially meant for children, seem to bring them joy. At the Stoll is a so-called aqua-ice show, although the aqua is not very present, being confined to the last item, which has a few fountains and a couple of miserable streams of water. But there is plenty of graceful and skilful ice skating and some humour (not enough). The wordless Joe Jackson, with a wonderful broken-down bicycle, is a clown of some consequence, and Heinie Brock, not successful in patter, wickedly cuds a previous performer.

Charley's Aunt is a mystery to me. Pleasant and harmless though it is, I cannot see quite why it has become the phenomenon it is. But its mild and modest humours can please the youngsters.

So take your pick, children. Or go to the cinema where—unless you see *William* or (for the older ones) *Scott of the Antarctic* or are lucky enough to get a revival—suitable for all—of *The Big Heart*—you can get a further ration of rape, seduction, battle, murder and sudden death. God rest you merry.

ROGER PAGE.

"RIDERS TO THE SEA"

ON this page a few weeks ago, in a notice of a Morley College Concert Society performance, a further note about

Vaughan Williams' arresting one-act opera, "Riders to the Sea," was promised.

Dr. Vaughan Williams has chosen a gripping text: J. M. Synge's eerie short play of the same name, with its handful of peasant characters on an islet off the Atlantic coast of Ireland.

He has handled Synge's work with devoted care for its literary value, setting it almost verbatim and largely eschewing the building of formal musical structures in favour of vivid narration and illustration of the story. Voice parts follow speech rhythms with supple, rapid movement, seldom broadening into a sustained melodic line. Never blatantly, but with a thousand telling strokes, the small orchestra heightens each shade of emotional colour in the words and paints in their setting of sea and stony island and windy sky.

The suitability of the work for differing forms of presentation is striking. It was presumably written with stage performance in mind. At the "Morley" concert it was presented oratorio-fashion, without action, costumes or scenery. And two days later it was broadcast in the Third Programme, and took to the air signally well, thanks to the graphic vocal and orchestral writing and to the fact that there is little "on-stage" action in the story. That gives hope that through further broadcasts it may be enjoyed by many more people than are likely to have chances of hearing it in concert-hall or opera-house.

It has already been implied that the voice parts are wonderfully apposite to the unsophisticatedness of the characters. Casting difficulty arises, though, from the allocation of the largest part, that of a widowed mother of three adult children, to a contralto, since so many contralto voices are too rich for the simplicity of this peasant woman's apprehen-

sion, awe, grief and resignation. In the "Morley" performance it was strange to find Kathleen Ferrier's glorious voice and her cultivated use of it disturbing. In the broadcast, Mary Jarred in the same part was still more out of character. But in both performances Robert Irwin, who was able to colour his words with Irish brogue, was most happily in place.

DICK HOLMES.

A READER'S LETTER

READING the reviews of "September Tide,"* and a visit to it have combined to provoke me into writing you to urge the importance of an appreciation of this play appearing in *Peace News*.

Critics have judged that this play is immoral and only saved from indecency by the personality of Gertrude Lawrence. To me this judgment is profoundly mistaken.

Love, like the spirit "bloweth where it listeth." To love and deceive oneself about one's love is immoral. To love and accept one's love as good in itself and part of the circumstances of one's life, and to live accordingly, is wisdom. Someone once said, "Experience is not what happens to you but what you do with what happens to you." If love of a mother-in-law is made the means of growth for lover and beloved alike, all is well.

Further, the play is not saved nor even dominated by Gertrude Lawrence. It rises from her carefully developed duet with Michael Gough, with Anne Leon in a minor but important role. But to appreciate all this one needs to have abandoned every vestige of conventional morality and to have learned to recognise truth in an unexpected guise.

"Everything that lives is holy," and to me this is a lovely play.

JOAN LAYTON.

London, N.W.11.

* By Daphne du Maurier (Aldwych Theatre).

All PoWs home by end of 1948?

MISSING GERMAN SOLDIERS: 1,800,000

ALL German PoWs held by France, with the exception of 1,000 accused of, or sentenced for, crimes committed during the occupation, were expected to be repatriated by Christmas. Over 130,000 PoWs have volunteered to stay in France with the status of free workers.

France, Britain and America will thus have carried out the decision made at the Moscow Conference in 1947 to complete repatriation in 1948. Repatriations from the Soviet Union have been increased within the past few months.

German sources claim that more than half a million German PoWs are still "languishing abroad three

and a half years after the end of the war."

A correspondent in Bavaria sends the following figures, recently issued in Germany by a PoW organisation:

"About 410,000 German PoWs are still in the Soviet Union, 38,000 in Poland, 53,000 in Yugoslavia, and 3,800 in Czechoslovakia. The number of missing German soldiers is estimated at 1,800,000."

IN THE U.S. ZONE

"Why is it," the impatient American demanded, "that you Germans talk almost only about food and cigarettes?"

"Well," countered the German, "what do Americans talk about?"

"Oh, many things," was the reply. "Science, music, art, philosophy and so on."

"That's simple then," retorted the German. "What we talk about most is what we don't have."

Pacifist Profiles XXII

WE do not hear as much as we would like of the small, devoted band of pacifists in the Union of South Africa, who have to fight an uphill battle for better relations between the peoples at home as well as abroad; but among the most energetic is Marjorie Fleming.

Marjorie Fleming was born in Natal, in 1895, and educated at Pietermaritzburg and at Newnham College, Cambridge. At the start of World War I, she describes herself as having been "deplorably militaristic," but by 1916 she had already



MARJORIE FLEMING

been converted to pacifism "by the influence of wiser friends and by the study of pacifist ideas." She joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Society of Friends, and 1918 found her engaged on Quaker relief-work in France.

She had published a volume of poems, "Veldt Fantasies and Other Verses," and after her return to South Africa, took up free-lance journalism. From 1928-32, and again in 1947, she was on the editorial board of the *Natal Witness*. Among the causes which her pen has served, she numbers "the welfare of the beautiful English language, and the defeat of such horrid inventions as Basic English."

Others have been the prevention of cruelty to animals, including vivisection, the welfare of the non-European population of the Union, and Women's Suffrage. For several years between the Wars, she was Vice-President in Natal of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union. In 1938, Marjorie Fleming helped to form the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the WRI, which owes much to the indefatigable work of its Secretary, Miss Elsie Ireland, but of which she herself is still the very active Chairman.

AND OUT OF IT

In the USA a leading press association is distributing to client papers a series of reports on the latest equipment being prepared for possible use in warfare. But so overwhelming is peace sentiment among the people that the agency felt called upon to preface the articles with a statement that

"This is NOT a war scare story. It is a peace story—a factual description of the steps our government is taking to keep America strong in case the worst should happen."—WP.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MEETINGS

GLASGOW COMMUNITY House, 214 Clyde Street. Open meeting under auspices of For and Church of Scotland Peace Society. Speaker, Mr. H. W. Henderson. Subject: Russia. PPU friends and others invited; Jan. 8 at 3 p.m.
"WHICH WAY to Peace and Plenty?" Discussion course in fundamental economics and social problems at Henry George School of Social Science (non-political), Houldsworth Hall, Deansgate, Manchester. Thursdays 7 p.m. Opening date Jan. 20. Partics. from Secretary, 13 Orthes Grove, Beaton Chapel, Stockport. HEATON MOOR 4776.

HORNSEY TOWN Hall. Mass meeting. Speakers: Mrs. Leah Manning, M.P., Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, F.R.S., Dr. Soper. Chair, Lady Farmoor. Jan. 11, 7.45 p.m. Organised by Women of Hornsey Peace Petition Group.

GLOUCESTER, CHILTERNHAM and neighbouring PPU and For members and friends cordially invited to the annual New Year Party. At Unitarian Chapel Room (opposite Plaza Cinema), Barton St., Gloucester, on Jan. 13. Bring and Buy stall 6.30 p.m. prompt, party following at 7 p.m. An annual reunion, especially for those out of regular contact.

STEPNEY PSU Reunion. Paddy's Goose (Memorial Hall), 293, The Highway, Shadwell, E.1., Sunday Jan. 16, 4-9.30 p.m. Speeches, Refreshments, Entertainments. All past and present full and part-time workers welcome.

STOKE NEWINGTON Friends Meeting House, Yorkley Road, Church Street, N.16. (73 bus). Tues., Jan. 11, 8 p.m. Stuart Morris opens first of SN Peace Group's six public meetings: "Is Peace with Russia Possible?" Jan. 18, Speaker: Eric Tucker.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. tube). Sunday Evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION

WANTED, BED-SIT for about 3 months; with or without board; quiet; separate; cheap. Box 998.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

OFFICE to let. One room with all services at 25s. a week. Please apply, The Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

SEASIDE HOLIDAY acmdtn. for Vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innisfree, St Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

LAKE DISTRICT. "Beck Allans" and "Rothay Bank," Grasmere. Attractive Guest Houses for strenuous or restful holidays. First class vegetarian diet. Dormitory accommodation at special rates. Enquiries to: Isabel James, at Beck Allans. Tel.: Grasmere 129.

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 31 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3 PR1mrose 5686

FOR SALE & WANTED

MURPHY RADIO, type A24, 200.250 volts A/C, 5 valve super-het table model, about 1935, but in good order plus electric record player and Marconi pick-up. £10 the lot or best offer. Half proceeds to Peace News Fund. On view at Peace News office, 3 Blackstock Rd. London, N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

GIFT PARCELS containing coffee, tea food and clothing can be sent to Germany, Austria, etc. Particulars from Fregata Ltd., 11, Greek Street, London, W.1.

ADOPTION. LOVING and happy home in good surroundings offered to baby girl by parents of young boy, aged 2½. Edgar and Marion Davies, 15, Harrow Road, Carshalton, Surrey.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

DOMESTIC HELP required for International Hostel, London, also voluntary international work camp Northumberland (forestry, decorating, etc). Information from International Voluntary Service for Peace, 34, Broadway, S.W.1. Whitehall 1461.

AN OPPORTUNITY occurs in City Office for youth who is keen to use his time before National Service establishing himself with a Christian firm which offers a good permanent career to those of suitable character and ability. Age preferably 15-16½; pacifist applicant would have same consideration as others. Write or phone Andrews and Partners, 38, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, E.C.3. AVenue 2808/9.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED. EXPERT DUPLICATING Service. Enquiries invited. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, London, N.5. Tel. CANonbury 8862.

Yugoslav criticism of Stalin

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

international body is to have authority there, and eventually Germany will have three votes on that authority. The Paris newspapers are far from enthusiastic about the settlement, but the general tone is one of resignation.

It seemed to me in Paris over the holiday season that the French were resigned to a lot of things. Notably they are resigned to America. Talking to an Englishman, many of them show a certain amount of envy of what they regard as Britain's independence from the American scheme of things entire. The French know well enough that there are monstrous contradictions in the present economic set-up of their country, and that without American aid the whole fabric would collapse. They also know that the price of American aid is collaboration with America's foreign policy.

The workers' grievance

ONLY to the French proletariat does this seem a particularly poor bargain. That is because the French industrial workers get a very small share of the Marshall cake. Their wages are good if they are 16,000 francs a month. Yet one can easily get 16,000 francs on the French black market for £12 or 35 dollars. And £3 a week buys no more in Paris than it buys in London, although rents are lower. If it were not for the French genius for domestic economy workers could hardly live at all. Many French students, for example, cannot live on their meagre grants, and there is a great deal of TB among them because of undernourishment. The workers and the students make their protest by joining the Communist Party. Back in October some of the workers went on strike. The boss class defeated them, because the boss class is pumped up with American dollars.

U.S. arms the aggressors

THE extent to which the United States supports reactionary forces abroad is sometimes astonishing. My colleague, "The Miller," recently told the story of Costa Rica, a country which disarmed and was promptly invaded by its militaristic neighbour, Nicaragua. It was a saddening story for any pacifist with faith in the power of non-violence. It now emerges that the Nicaraguan dictatorship was fortified with lease-lend shipments of American arms to

the tune of 628 thousand dollars. Costa Rica, though its population of 705 thousand is only 309 thousand less than that of Nicaragua, never received more than about a fifth of the lease-lend arms that went to her neighbour. A Worldover Press analysis shows that in U.S. arms aid to Central American powers, "dictatorships were favoured out of all proportion."

The new baron's warning

IN the New Year's Honours List the election which pleased me most was that of Sir John Boyd Orr to a barony. Of all voices that are nowadays heard in international affairs, his is the one, and sometimes I think the only one, that is genuinely constructive. Unfortunately, his nomination to a seat in the House of Lords does not mean that his policy has been adopted by the British Government, let alone by the rulers of the whole world.

In an article which was published in Peace News last August, John Boyd Orr pointed out the dangers of world hunger which were already arising from over-population and soil erosion; and he called for a large-scale scientific effort, comparable to the military effort of the recent war, to defeat famine while there was still time.

Even in terms of hard-boiled political strategy, I should have thought this warning should have been acted on by the Western powers. Where there is hunger there is bound to be Communism.

How much more practical, then, a policy of combatting famine all over the world than the expense of resources on arms and aeroplanes and atom bombs. More practical, that is, if your policy is to defeat Communism. Sometimes I am inclined to think America's policy is expansionist and militarist for its own sake, and that the threat of Communism is the occasion and not the explanation of her new Imperialism.

Tito's break with Stalin

RUSSIA'S economic sanctions against her heretic partner in the New Europe, Yugoslavia, have at last been announced to the world. Trade between the two countries in 1949 is to be reduced to one eighth of what it was in 1948.

This is something serious. Hitherto many people had suspected that the breach between Tito and Stalin was a trick of some sort, and many Yugoslavs believed that Stalin himself was not a party to the dispute. But recently the Yugoslav Party newspaper Borba said:

"All members of our party knew that Tito not only agreed with the attacks made on Marshal Tito, M. Kardelj and other Yugoslav leaders, but confirmed them in every way. Until now we have said nothing about Stalin in our press, not because we had any illusions about his attitude, but because we thought it would be unpleasant to use his name on our side more often than necessary. . . . He is the greatest living authority in the international working-class movement, but in the conflict between Yugoslav Communists and the Bolshevik Party, right is on the Yugoslav side, and not on his."

Tito's breach with Stalin does not mean he can be seduced to the West. The quotation from Borba recalls the pronouncements of dissenting leaders with Rome. And just as Protestants at the time of the Protestant breach considered themselves no less members of Christendom for having broken with the Vatican, so Tito regards himself no less a member of the Communist world, but indeed as a rather more enlightened member than those in the Kremlin.

Yugoslavia is still as Marxist as it ever was. All big industries and 70 per cent. of local ones have been nationalised. So have all the banks and transport, all foreign trade, all wholesale and most retail business. Only as a last resort would Yugoslavia turn to the West, and especially to the United States, for anything but normal trade. True a pact was signed last month with the United Kingdom, but its effects are not likely to be far-reaching. In a war, Yugoslavia might want to be neutral, but she would soon find herself drawn in on the Russian side. But for the time being, its defection is a marked embarrassment to the Russians, and it is not unlikely that more vigorous efforts will be made in the near future to overthrow the heretics and instal an orthodox Communist Government in Belgrade.

SCOTLAND NEEDS HOMES, NOT SOLDIERS

—Emrys Hughes

FOUR MPs, Rhys Davies, Emrys Hughes, Victor Yates and Richard Morley spoke at the No Conscription Council's "Black Saturday" protest meeting on Jan. 1. They called for support for their struggle in the House of Commons to secure the repeal of the new National Service Act which came into operation that day.

Lord Faringdon was in the Chair, and Dr. Belden and J. Allen Skinner also spoke.

Emrys Hughes, MP, complained of the acute housing shortage in Scotland, now being aggravated by the withdrawal of manpower from the building trade into the armed forces.

He told the meeting that £80 had been spent on a recruiting week for the Territorial Army in Perth recently, on one occasion there were fifteen military and other dignitaries on the recruiting platform and four in the audience. Nine recruits were obtained during the week. A similar campaign in Winchester, assisted by Air Marshall Lord Portal involved an expenditure of £30 and yielded no recruits.

In support of the meeting nine poster paraders walked four miles through the gale and storm-showers which marked Black Saturday. More paraders joined along the route and twelve arrived at Friends Meeting House, Euston. Several hundred leaflets were distributed among interested spectators in the course of the parade.

STORY OF THE YEAR

TIME: Summer, 1948.

PLACE: One of England's famous public schools.

The whole school is paraded for an inspection by H.M. King George VI. All the boys are in OTC uniform—except one at the end of the line before whom the King stops.

H.M.: "Why are you not in uniform?"

The Boy: "I am a pacifist, Sir."

APF's 1949 Plans

The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, which has a growing membership, has made the following plans for 1949:

Feb. 24 at 7.30 pm, Archdeacon Hartill will meet members and friends at the Westminster Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane, and address them on "Lambeth and War."

May 13 to 16, Annual Retreat at Pleshey near Chelmsford; Conductor, The Rev. H. de Labat. Booking fee, 5s., is included in the total cost of 32s. 6d.

Aug. 19 to 26, Summer Conference at "Elfinward," Haywards Heath, Surrey. (48 minutes from London and 20 from Brighton.) Booking fee, 10s., counts as part of total cost of £4 14s. 6d.

In addition, it is hoped during the year to arrange a public discussion between Anglican non-pacifists and pacifists; a joint public meeting with Roman Catholic, Free Church and Anglican speakers; to produce a pamphlet suitable for circulation among the members of the Church of England Youth Council and the Diocesan Youth Clubs; to get a Commission of prominent members to report upon Archdeacon Hartill's Minority Report to "The Church and the Atom," and to supply speakers to as many Ruridecanal Conferences as possible. A letter is being sent this month to a cross section of the Lambeth Petition signatories, explaining the aims of the Fellowship.

The APF's Monthly News Letter will be sent to those interested on payment of 2s. 6d. to the Secretary, Harry Mills, 1, Adelaide Street, London, W.C.2.

This week's contributors

PASTOR KRYN STRIJD, of 's Hertogenbosch, Holland, is a member of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

SPENCER COXE, an American Friend, spent two and a half years in China, in Honan Province and later as chairman of the Friends Service Unit in Shanghai. His article is reprinted from the American Friends' Service Committee Bulletin.

H. W. RAWLINGS, is a member of the Barnet Regional PPU Council.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

CAMPAIGNING means a good deal more than organising meetings, though that is a very important part of the work; it means keeping the name of your organisation and its aims and objects constantly before the public.

Poster parading is one way of doing this. There is no doubt that it is an effective way of catching the eye. I remember one day I was going down Regent Street in a bus and I caught sight of a big yellow poster being carried along on the opposite side of the road; I had no time to see what it said and was not particularly interested but suddenly another one came into view and by the time the next one came along I had discovered what it was all about. I noticed people in the street stopping to look and saw many of them accepting the leaflets handed out by supporters on the pavement.

A poster can only carry a few words and a parade, therefore, should always be supported by helpers giving out explanatory handbills.

It isn't easy. It means a sacrifice of time and leisure; it means overcoming self-consciousness, which for some people is the greatest effort of all, but the cause of pacifism will not be won without some sacrifice, and the need is greater than it ever was before.

The London hoardings will display our posters for a fortnight, but I want "living posters" to carry our message and news of our Peace demonstration to all the places where no hoardings exist.

I want volunteers for the following activities to advertise the Central Hall Meeting on Jan. 21:

POSTER PARADES:

Sat. Jan. 8, from Turnpike Lane Underground Station at 3 pm to Wood Green (Spouters' Corner) where an open-air meeting will be held.

Jan. 12 and onwards daily, except Sat. and Sun., from Dick Sheppard House at 1 pm for half an hour.

Sat. Jan. 15, from Bakers' Arms at 3 pm to Walthamstow High Street where an open-air meeting will be held.

Volunteers who can spare fifteen minutes or more to distribute leaflets along the route are needed in addition.

LEAFLET DISTRIBUTION:

Every London and Home-counties member is asked to distribute leaflets either in the street during their lunch-hour or from door-to-door. In addition volunteers are wanted for the following:

Jan. 10 onwards, outside the Albert Hall Promenade Concerts.

Jan. 9 and 16, Sunday evenings at 6.30 pm, outside Kingsway Hall.

Jan. 11, Tuesday, at 7.15 pm, outside the Hornsey Town Hall Women's Peace Group Meeting.

Jan. 10 and 17, Mondays at 1 pm, at Tower Hill PPU open-air meetings.

Jan. 13 and 20, Thursdays, at 1 pm, at Lincoln's Inn Fields PPU open-air meetings.

Daily, outside stations, at shopping centres and any local meetings in London or Home Counties.

Already I have heard that people intend travelling into London from Reigate and Orpington districts, and that a party of 35 is travelling from Leytonstone by coach. The North and East London Region have collected 35s. for bill-posting in their area.

A PPU member said to me this week, rather sternly, "its asking rather a lot of people." Is it? Anyway, I do ask it. Its true that a London meeting is not the be-all and end-all of campaigning, but this one on Jan. 21 holds a special significance for the PPU all over the country. It is the first big meeting we have held in London for many years; it is the beginning of a big new campaign to gain signatories to the Pledge, and much may depend upon its success.

Our Sponsors and our speakers—a wonderful galaxy of stars—will give of their best in any case, but how much easier and encouraging for them if, when they come on to the platform, they see rows and rows of listeners packed from floor to galleries.

Rhys Davies, MP, and Stuart Morris will be speaking in the Houldsworth Hall, Manchester, on Monday evening, Jan. 24.

SYBIL MORRISON.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by W. F. Clifford Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX

is a "disturbance centre" in sub-consciousness generating negative impulses causing self-consciousness, lack of confidence, nervousness, worry, weak will, unsociability, lack of enterprise, stammering, blushing, forgetfulness, "nerves," sleeplessness, etc. To fight these forces directly is in vain—ERADICATE THEM FOR EVER by reconstructing within yourself a powerful, positive subconscious mind, as revealed in remarkable FREE Book, which has transformed the lives of thousands. Write to-day. All correspondence is confidential.

Write to-day for FREE BOOK

British Institute of Practical Psychology

10A, (ZP3), Highbury Place, London, N.5.

WAR?—WE SAY "NO"

Peace Demonstration

CENTRAL HALL WESTMINSTER

FRIDAY • JANUARY 21

8 p.m.

Chairman: STUART MORRIS

Speakers:

VERA BRITTAIN

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

MICHAEL TIPPETT

SYBIL THORNDIKE

ALEX. COMFORT

MABEL RIDEALGH M.P.

EMRYS HUGHES M.P.

Admission Free. Some Reserved Seats 2/6.

BUFFET and BOOKSTALL from 6.30 p.m.

Organised by

PEACE PLEDGE UNION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh St. W.C.1.